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The War

UNITED STATES POLICY TOWARD THE VICHY GOVERNMENT

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

[Released to the press by the White House November 9]

The representative of this Government at Vichy has reported that last evening M. Laval, Chief of the Government at Vichy, notified him that diplomatic relations between Vichy and this Government had been severed. I regret this action on the part of M. Laval.

He is evidently still speaking the language prescribed by Hitler.

The Government of the United States can do nothing about this severance of relations on the part of the Vichy Government.

Nevertheless, no act of Hitler, or of any of his puppets, can sever relations between the American people and the people of France. We have not broken relations with the French. We never will.

This Government will continue as heretofore to devote its thought, its sympathy, and its aid to the rescue of the forty-five million people of France from enslavement and from a permanent loss of their liberties and free institutions.

STATEMENTS BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE IN PRESS CONFERENCES

In response to questions by the newspaper correspondents at a press conference held on November 8, the Secretary of State said that the people who have been concerned about the Vichy policy of the United States Government will now be able to see clearly and fully its entire content. He added that liberation of French Morocco by American military forces carries forward the various purposes and objectives of this Government in pursuing its policy toward Vichy. This policy, he said, has been directed toward the ultimate liberation of France from her German captors. The American, British, and Canadian Governments have whole-heartedly favored and supported this policy, he added.

The more important of those purposes, Secretary Hull pointed out, have been: (1) opportunity for the Government of the United States to get from week to week highly important in-

formation virtually from the inside of German-controlled territory and from North Africa regarding Axis subversive activities and other important phases of the international situation; (2) the maintenance of close relations with the French people and encouragement of leadership in opposition to Hitlerism wherever it exists; (3) the keeping alive of the basic concepts of freedom of the French people, looking toward ultimate restoration of free institutions for France as they existed before the German occupation; (4) the retention of the closest personal touch on the ground with all phases of the French and German situation under the armistice prevailing between Germany and France; resistance to increased German pressure on France to go beyond the armistice provisions and to collaborate with Germany; constant effort to prevent delivery of the French fleet or any part of it into German military

hands or to give military support to German arms; that also includes French bases all along the Mediterranean and the Atlantic coast; and (5) last, but most important, paving the way and preparing the background, in the most effective manner possible, for the planning and sending of the military expedition into the western Mediterranean area, and assisting the movements supporting present British operations farther east.

The Secretary of State was asked, at his press conference on November 9, whether he would care to say whether he felt that the traditional friendship which had existed between the peoples of this country and France for so long would make it impossible for the Vichy Government to turn the French people against us in view of the developments in North Africa.

The Secretary permitted the press to quote him directly on the following statement:

"The Vichy Government did all—reached its maximum stage by its plan and efforts to mislead the French people many months ago. The French people, I think, to the extent of not less than 95 percent understand fully that the Laval government at Vichy has been a most willing puppet of Hitler and Hitler agencies, with the result that instead of being influenced in that Hitler direction by the Laval government, they—the French people—will, on the contrary, be most grateful for our having come to the relief of French Africa, which is the first and preliminary step in our plans, so far as I understand, to come to the relief of all enslaved peoples in Europe, including France proper. The French people will continue, I am sure, to be grateful to us for our policies and be wholly cooperative with us to the extent within their power."

AMERICAN MILITARY OPERATIONS IN FRENCH NORTH AFRICA

MESSAGES OF PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT TO OFFICIALS OF FRANCE, PORTUGAL, SPAIN ALGERIA, AND TUNISIA; AND REPLIES

[Released to the press by the White House November 8]

In connection with the current military operations in French North Africa, the President has sent the following message to the Chief of the French State, Marshal Henri Philippe Pétain:

"MARSHAL PÉTAİN :

"I am sending this message to you as the Chef d'État of the United States to the Chef d'État of the Republic of France.

"When your Government concluded the Armistice Convention in 1940, it was impossible for any of us to foresee the program of systematic plunder which the German Reich would inflict on the French people.

"That program, implemented by blackmail and robbery, has deprived the French population of its means of subsistence, its savings; it has paralyzed French industry and transport; it has looted French factories and French

farms—all for the benefit of a Nazi Reich and a Fascist Italy under whose Governments no liberty loving nation could long exist.

"As an old friend of France and the people of France, my anger and sympathy grows with every passing day when I consider the misery, the want, and the absence from their homes of the flower of French manhood. Germany has neglected no opportunity to demoralize and degrade your great nation.

"Today, with greedy eyes on that Empire which France so laboriously constructed, Germany and Italy are proposing to invade and occupy French North Africa in order that they may execute their schemes of domination and conquest over the whole of that continent.

"I know you will realize that such a conquest of Africa would not stop there but would be the prelude to further attempts by Germany and Italy to threaten the conquest of large portions

of the American Hemisphere, large dominations over the Near and Middle East, and a joining of hands in the Far East with those military leaders of Japan who seek to dominate the whole of the Pacific.

"It is evident, of course, that an invasion and occupation of French North and West Africa would constitute for the United States and all of the American Republics the gravest kind of menace to their security—just as it would sound the death knell of the French Empire.

"In the light of all the evidence of our enemy's intentions and plans, I have, therefore, decided to dispatch to North Africa powerful American armed forces to cooperate with the governing agencies of Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco in repelling this latest act in the long litany of German and Italian international crime.

"These indomitable American forces are equipped with massive and adequate weapons of modern warfare which will be available for your compatriots in North Africa in our mutual fight against the common enemy.

"I am making all of this clear to the French Authorities in North Africa, and I am calling on them for their cooperation in repelling Axis threats. My clear purpose is to support and aid the French Authorities and their administrations. That is the immediate aim of these American armies.

"I need not tell you that the ultimate and greater aim is the liberation of France and its Empire from the Axis yoke. In so doing we provide automatically for the security of the Americas.

"I need not again affirm to you that the United States of America seeks no territories and remembers always the historic friendship and mutual aid which we have so greatly given to each other.

"I send to you and, through you, to the people of France my deep hope and belief that we are all of us soon to enter into happier days.

FRANKLIN D ROOSEVELT"

[Released to the press by the White House November 8]

In reply, Marshal Pétain sent the following message to President Roosevelt:

"It is with stupor and sadness that I learned tonight of the aggression of your troops against North Africa.

"I have read your message. You invoke pretexts which nothing justifies. You attribute to your enemies intentions which have not ever been manifested in acts. I have always declared that we would defend our Empire if it were attacked; you should know that we would defend it against any aggressor whoever he might be. You should know that I would keep my word.

"In our misfortune I had, when requesting the armistice, protected our Empire and it is you who acting in the name of a country to which so many memories and ties bind us have taken such a cruel initiative.

"France and her honor are at stake.

"We are attacked; we shall defend ourselves; this is the order I am giving.

PHILIPPE PÉTAİN"

[Released to the press by the White House November 8]

In connection with the current military operations in French North Africa, the President has sent the following message to the President of the Republic of Portugal, General Antonio Oscar de Fragoso Carmona:

"MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

"The Republic of Portugal and the United States of America have long enjoyed the full and complete friendship of each other. Because of this great friendship, and our mutual desire to insure its continuation, I desire to relate to you the urgent reasons that have compelled me to despatch to the assistance of the friendly French Possessions in North Africa a strong Army of the United States.

"I have been advised by very reliable sources of information that in the near future it is the intention of Germany and Italy to occupy the French North African Colonies with a large military force.

"I know that it will be quite clear to you that prompt and effective action should be taken to deter such an attempt by the Axis Nations, with its inherent danger to the defenses of the Western Hemisphere.

"To forestall occupation by the Axis Nations of the French North African Possessions and Protectorates, and thus to insure the defense of American Nations, is the only reason which prompts the despatch of powerful United States forces to the Area. It is hoped that French North Africa will not suffer in any way from the destruction of war on its own soil.

"I desire to reassure you fully that the presence of American Military Forces in French North Africa presages in no manner whatsoever, a move against the people or Government of Portugal or against any of Portugal's Continental or Island Possessions. Since I realize that Portugal really desires above all else to avoid the horrors and devastation of war, I hope that you will accept my solemn assurance that your Country should have no fear of the motives of the United Nations.

"I am, my dear Mr. President,

"Your sincere friend,

FRANKLIN D ROOSEVELT"

[Released to the press by the White House November 12]

The President has received the following reply from the President of Portugal:

"NOVEMBER 12, 1942.

"MR. PRESIDENT:

"I received from the hands of His Excellency the United States Minister the message with which Your Excellency honored me, conveying to me the motives for the military operations undertaken in French North Africa.

"In the same message it was Your Excellency's wish in view of that new fact again to assure me categorically that the presence of military American forces in the North of Africa do not forebode any attempt against the people and Government of Portugal or against Continental or Insular Portugal.

"I do not wish to lose any time in thanking Your Excellency for the friendly tenor and spirit of your communication and further for the solemn assurances that my country has nothing to fear from the intentions of the United States, which is another proof of the unalterable and confident friendship existing between our two nations.

"The Government and the people of Portugal learned with sincere appreciation of the contents of the message and join me in conveying to Your Excellency the thanks and the wishes I hereby express for Your Excellency's personal prosperities and those of your people.

General CARMONA

President of the Republic of Portugal"

[Released to the press by the White House November 8]

In connection with the current military operations in French North Africa, the President has sent the following message to the head of the Spanish State, General Francisco Franco y Bahamonde:

"DEAR GENERAL FRANCO:

"It is because your nation and mine are friends in the best sense of the word, and because you and I are sincerely desirous of the continuation of that friendship for our mutual good that I want very simply to tell you of the compelling reasons that have forced me to send a powerful American military force to the assistance of the French possessions in North Africa.

"We have accurate information to the effect that Germany and Italy intend at an early date to occupy with military force French North Africa.

"With your wide military experience you will understand clearly that in the interest of the defense of both North America and South America it is essential that action be taken to prevent an Axis occupation of French Africa without delay.

"To provide for America's defense I am sending a powerful Army to the French possessions and protectorates in North Africa with the sole purpose of preventing occupation by Germany and Italy, and with the hope that these areas will not be devastated by the horrors of war.

"I hope you will accept my full assurance that these moves are in no shape, manner, or form directed against the Government or people of Spain or Spanish territory, metropolitan or overseas. I believe that the Spanish Govern-

ment and the Spanish people wish to maintain neutrality and to remain outside the war. Spain has nothing to fear from the United Nations.

"I am, my dear General,

"Your sincere friend,

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT"

[Released to the press by the White House November 13]

The following letter, addressed to the President by General Franco, has been received:

"MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

"I have received from the hands of your Ambassador the letter in which, actuated by the relations of friendship which unite our peoples, and which in their benefit should be preserved, you explain to me the reasons which induced Your Excellency to send troops of the American Army to occupy the territories of the French possessions and protectorates in North Africa.

"I accept with pleasure and I thank you for the assurances which Your Excellency offers the Government and the people of Spain to the effect that the measures adopted are not in any manner directed against their interests, or against their territories, metropolitan or overseas, or against the protectorate in Morocco, and I confidently hope that the relations among the Moroccan peoples of both zones likewise will in the future be maintained in the same spirit of peace and of reciprocal confidence which have characterized them up to now.

"I can assure you that Spain knows the value of peace and sincerely desires peace for itself and for all other peoples.

"On this occasion I am pleased to reciprocate the same friendly sentiments you expressed to me and to express my intention of avoiding anything which might disturb our relations in any of their aspects, and I reiterate with a salutation the expression of my personal esteem and sincere friendship."

[Released to the press by the White House November 14]

In connection with the current military operations in French North Africa, the President

has sent the following message to the Governor General of Algeria, Yves Charles Chatel:

"YOUR EXCELLENCY:

"The undeniable evidence which has come to me of the design of the Axis powers, exponents of brutality, force and aggression, to execute their program of domination and occupation of Algeria requires that you and I cooperate in the defense against the common enemy.

"I have not been oblivious to the able resistance which you have extended to the application to Algeria of the cruel terms of the Armistice of June, 1940, and your determination to defend the French Empire on which the covetous eyes of Germany and Italy are fastened.

"The intention of the Axis to exploit French North Africa and detach it from France for the profit of the Central Powers undoubtedly is obvious to you.

"Now that the insatiable Axis desire culminates in an effort to seize French North Africa, I know that you will stoutly resist by every means at your disposal this latest manifestation of German and Italian cupidity and baseness.

"Be assured that the powerful American forces, equipped with the deadliest instruments of modern warfare, which I am despatching will support you to the limit of their great resources to the end that the Axis may be driven from North Africa and the liberation of France and its Empire from despicable tyranny may begin. These American forces are determined like yourself that liberty and the dignity of man shall not perish from the earth. You know that those American forces have only one aim—which they will achieve—the destruction of our common enemies and that includes the liberation of France.

"Long Live France! Long live the United States of America!

"Your friend,

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT"

[Released to the press by the White House November 9]

In connection with the current military operations in French North Africa, the President has sent the following messages to the Resident

General at Tunis, Admiral Jean Pierre Esteva, and His Highness Sidi Moncef Pacha, Bey of Tunis, respectively:

"YOUR EXCELLENCY:

"I take the liberty of requesting your good offices in the transmission to the addressee of the accompanying message of The President of the United States addressed to His Highness, Sidi Moncef Pacha, Bey of Tunis.

"Your own loyal efforts, my dear Admiral, since the tragic days of June, 1940, to stem the tide of Axis infiltration in North Africa and to retain for France and the Tunisian population some vestige of liberty and well-being are often in my thoughts.

"Now that the insatiable designs of Germany and Italy in their mad drive for world domination and oppression stretch out to encompass Tunisia in their onward march, I have determined to support French and Tunisian resistance by the despatch to North Africa of powerful American forces. These forces are equipped with masses of the most deadly instruments of modern warfare and they are instructed to cooperate with friendly French officials and the Tunisian population looking to the early destruction of our common enemy.

"I know that I may count on your understanding of American friendship for France and American determination to liberate the French Empire from the domination of its oppressors.

"Long live France! Long live the United States of America!

"Your friend,

FRANKLIN D ROOSEVELT"

"YOUR HIGHNESS:

"I have not ignored the terrible predicament into which the brave Tunisian population has been thrown by the progress of the war. Your country, I know, is beset on all sides by dangers with which You, alas, are only too familiar. Your people are victimized by the organized rapacity of the Germans and Italians which has stripped the Tunisian population of the barest necessities of life, reducing it to nakedness and want.

"Now I learn that those same Italian and German elements, not content with organized plunder, seek to occupy and completely dominate Your country, and to impose on your proud people a condition of misery to which, I am sure, they will never submit.

"The indomitable and massive American armed forces which I am despatching to North Africa, in collaboration with the forces of France, will cooperate with you in the defense of your country. They have no other aim than the early destruction of our common enemies. They and their allies hope for the great privilege of passage through Tunisia thus enabling them to accomplish their mission—the elimination of the forces of evil from North Africa.

"Your recent ascension to power and your expressed aspirations for the welfare of Your people in whom I have profound confidence permit no doubt of the speedy and favorable outcome of our joint measures of defense.

"May God have Your Highness in His safe and holy keeping.

"Your Good Friend,

FRANKLIN D ROOSEVELT"

CONGRATULATORY MESSAGES FROM OTHER AMERICAN REPUBLICS

[Released to the press November 8-14]

In connection with the American military operations in French North Africa, President Roosevelt has received telegrams of support and congratulation from officials and organizations in the other American republics. Translations of these messages, together with such replies as have been made to date, are printed below.

Bolivia

"LA PAZ, November 10, 1942.

"I have the honor to declare to Your Excellency that the Government and people of Bolivia interpret the military operation in French North Africa by armed contingents from the United States as a liberating action in favor of a France subjected to the yoke of the totalitarian

countries of the Axis, as a result of the present military conflict, the liberated territories being kept in safe-keeping as an expression of the respect which the territorial sovereignty of nations receive from the democracies.

"Bolivia, like the other nations of this hemisphere, has owed to the springs of the French revolution its passion for the liberty and independence of the Republic and its democratic credo which constitute the moral and juridical foundation on which the edifice of this nation rests.

"Furthermore, the occupation of French Africa, from the military point of view, is transformed into a measure intended to protect our continent from attack and invasion.

"Convinced that the great nation of Washington has realized in this anxious historic hour an act of strict justice, in obedience to military necessity which could not be postponed, to the advantage of the continent and the cause of the democracies, I have the honor to send Your Excellency my warm congratulations and my best wishes for the success of this noble undertaking, based on most worthy humane and international purposes, which will strengthen the faith we all have in the liberation of the world. I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to Your Excellency the assurances of my highest and most distinguished consideration.

General PEÑARANDA

President of the Republic of Bolivia"

Chile

"SANTIAGO, CHILE.

"Ambassador Bowers has just advised me of the reasons which Your Excellency's Government had for instituting acts of occupation in the French territories and possessions in North Africa as also the guarantees of territorial integrity given to the peoples of France, Spain and Portugal, so closely bound to our people by ties of history, friendship and culture. Convinced like Your Excellency that the operations undertaken tend, furthermore and in a basic manner, to guarantee the security of this hemisphere, it gives me pleasure to declare to

you that I duly appreciate those very high ends and that, for our part, we are continuing to increase the production of indispensable materials and vigorously combatting all activity of subversive propaganda or espionage which might be prejudicial to this fraternal labor in which the American people and their illustrious President are engaged. I take this opportunity to renew to Your Excellency the assurances of my highest consideration and respect.

JUAN ANTONIO RÍOS

President of Chile"

"THE WHITE HOUSE, November 14, 1942.

"I am deeply appreciative of Your Excellency's message of wholehearted understanding of the military operations now in progress in North Africa. I was confident that the significance of this offensive not only in relation to the liberation of France from the domination of the Nazis but also to the security of the American Republics as a whole would be enthusiastically appreciated by you and by the people of Chile. The vast operations in which we have now engaged and the even more difficult offensives of the future make the assurances of Chilean support profoundly welcome. In this moment in which the full support of free peoples everywhere is most urgently needed the news of increased and more effective cooperation by Chile for the security of this hemisphere is most heartening. I take advantage of this opportunity of renewing to you my sincere assurances of profound esteem and friendship.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT"

"SANTIAGO, CHILE,

"November 8, 1942.

"In face of the deeply humane message inspired in the most fundamental roots of the Latin civilization which you have just directed to the French people, we beg you to accept our homage of adhesion and gratitude, for what you and your people may be able to do for the survival of eternal France will redound to spiritual benefit of Latin America, which was stirred by your example so to constitute itself that the right, justice, and liberty would per-

mit its progress on the road of the arts and sciences and its development within the full framework of democracy.

LEONARDO GUZMAN, *ex-Minister of State, University Professor;*

EDUARDO CRUZ COKE, *Senator, University Professor;*

MARCIAL MORA, *ex-Minister of State, President of the Union for Victory;*

BENJAMIN SUBERCASEAUX, *President of Pen Club;*

RAFAEL LUIS GUMUCIO, *ex-Senator;*

ALBERTO ROMERO, *President of Intelligence Alliance;*

PEDRO LEON LOYOLA, *Professor of Philosophy;*

ALFONSO LENG, *University Professor;*

DOMINGO MALFI, *Director, daily La Nación;*

FRANCISCO WALKER, *University Professor;*

JULIO ORTIZ DE ZARATE, *President, Artists Federation of Plastics;*

HECTOR ORREGO, *University Professor;*

DOMINGO SANTA CRUZ, *Dean of Faculty of Fine Arts;*

CHAELEA RAYES, *Authoress;*

ISAURO TORRES, *Senator;*

FLORA YAÑEZ, *Authoress;*

GUILLERMO FELIU, *University Professor;*

MIGUEL LUIS ROCUAUT;

EDUARDO FREI, *ex-Deputy;*

BERNARDO LEIGHTON, *ex-Minister of State;*

ISMAEL EDWARDS MATTE, *Writer;*

CARLOS CONTRERAS LABARCA, *Senator;*

LUIS MELANDEZ, *Writer;*

BYRON GIGOUX, *Director of Las Ultimas Noticias,*

GUSTAVO GIRON, *Senator, University Professor"*

"SANTIAGO, November 10, 1942.

"We, Senators of all political parties, congratulate you cordially on the African action,

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which presages the liberty of oppressed peoples and assures the defense of the American continent.

GREGORIO AMUNATEGUI

GUILLERMO AZOCAR

CONTRERAS LABARCA

ENRIQUE BRAVO

CRUZ COKE

HUMBERTO ALVAREZ

MARMADUKE GROVE

CARLOS ALBERTO MARTINEZ

ISAURO TORRES

ELIODORO DOMINGUEZ

ULISES CORREA

HERNAN VIDELA

HUGO GROVE

GUILLERMO GUEVARA

ELIAS LAFFERTE

MARTINEZ MONTT

ENRIQUE ELIODORO GUZMAN

AMADOR PAIROA

GUSTAVO GIRON

ANIBAL CRUZAT"

"NOVEMBER 8, 1942.

"The French of Chile enthusiastically greet American intervention North Africa. They are sure this event proclaims approaching victory and liberation France.

President, Fighting French"

Colombia

"BOGOTÁ, November 10, 1942.

"At this moment when the American forces are advancing along the coast of French North Africa I wish to join with the entire Colombian Nation and all the free peoples of the world in wishing complete success to that undertaking and to all subsequent actions which may directly or indirectly result therefrom. It would be difficult for me to express to Your Excellency the admiration which I personally feel for this political and military action by the United States. In my opinion it is unparalleled both in its purposes and in the manner in which your country is attaining them. As you have just explained to France on this occasion, the United

States is not in this war to acquire territories; nor to conquer a colonial empire; nor to enrich itself with the spoils of conquered peoples; nor is it motivated by the passions of a war of religion, nor carried away by the dark fanaticism aroused by racial rivalries, nor by any other of the causes for war that we have hitherto known, such as the ambition of despotic leaders or the clash of opposing national interests which cannot be resolved by peaceful means. But although the United States neither needs nor seeks material gain, and follows no policy of national expansion, and although all your fellow-countrymen know that the purposes for which they are participating in this war are the improvement of conditions throughout the world rather than in the United States alone, your people with incomparable generosity are shedding their blood over the whole earth, and are giving to the whole world the entire output of that present effort of theirs which is an accumulation of the creative energy displayed over a century of activity, and their hopes of future progress. American troops are now attempting the liberation of France, repaying for the second time, the debt of France's contribution to the independence of the United States and its democratic culture. But, further, your fellow-citizens, with a uniquely American concept of service to humanity, are seeing service in Australia, fighting on Guadalcanal, flying in China's air squadrons and over invaded Europe, camping in Liberia and in the African deserts.

"All free countries, whether actual allies of the United States or others determined to resist Fascist oppression, are being supplied from the factories of America in a manner never known under the opprobrious régime of war-mongering arms dealers. In these acts the American people are sacrificing a prosperous, free, rich, happy and worthy life to maintain the principles of humanity, of Christianity, of political democracy and of future peace. If from the first World War there came after 1918 a revolution in social concepts that brought varying degrees—all of them important—of benefit to the lower economic classes in different states, I believe that from the victory of the United Na-

tions we may hope, and I do confidently hope, for a revolution which will benefit equally all social classes, all men everywhere, regardless of their race, their religion, their political convictions, their economic situation, their position in society. The United States is not sacrificing itself in vain. When a rich and powerful nation, which envies no other, gives up all its present advantages to procure a better life for all the oppressed, conquered, humbled or fearful peoples, it should be able to obtain for this purpose the decided and unstinted cooperation of those peoples who share its ideals and are stirred with grateful emotion for the way in which the United States is determined to attain them. The offensive of the United Nations will still meet with difficulties and delays, but nothing, Your Excellency, can prevent the ultimate victory. Such are my ardent wishes, and thus do I interpret the unanimous will of my fellow-countrymen.

ALFONSO LÓPEZ
President of Colombia"

Cuba

"HABANA, November 9, 1942.

"In the name of the Government and the people of Cuba I have the honor to make known to Your Excellency our warmest adherence to the movement begun by the army and navy of the United States in the French possessions in North Africa, both for the defense of those territories from the imminent aggression of the totalitarian powers and for starting the liberation of all the oppressed countries of Europe. This movement of yours places in relief once more the noble purpose which is followed by the international policy developed by Your Excellency's Government in behalf of the proper democratic interests of unanimity in the present struggle. In sending to Your Excellency the statement of our adherence, we take the liberty of congratulating you on the gigantic effort made, expressing our wishes for its complete success.

FULGENCIO BATISTA
President of the Republic of Cuba"

Dominican Republic

"CIUDAD TRUJILLO, November 9, 1942.

"I experience deep satisfaction in expressing to Your Excellency the feelings of rejoicing and solidarity of the Dominican Government and people, and my own personally, on account of the important operations begun in Africa by the American forces, which constitutes a powerful and encouraging effort in the struggle we are maintaining to base human liberty and dignity on immovable foundations. At this transcendental moment in the liberating crusade in which we are engaged I am glad to confirm to Your Excellency the fullest adherence of the Dominican people and Government and the assurance of their most firm cooperation to obtain the definitive victory for the ideals of liberty and justice which are supported by the United Nations.

RAFAEL L. TRUJILLO

President of the Dominican Republic"

Ecuador

"NOVEMBER 10, 1942.

"The action carried out by the American forces in North Africa gives particular satisfaction to the Ecuadoran Government and people. Besides being a notable triumph over the arms of the aggressor countries it meets a threat against the Western Hemisphere and gives to France and the Latin nations the assurance that once again the United States will pay the debt of gratitude which it contracted when the sword of Lafayette was drawn in the service of American independence and liberty. In congratulating Your Excellency for this great day, I stress the solidarity of which our firm collaboration is proof.

C. ARROYO DEL RIO

President of Ecuador"

Guatemala

"GUATEMALA, November 9, 1942.

"The action of American arms in the territories under French dominion is of extreme importance in these moments of the conflict. I

consider that such action is that of the liberation of martyred France and that it is bound to merit the support of all the peoples and governments of America. Receive my warm congratulations.

JORGE UBICO

President of Guatemala"

Haiti

"PORT-AU-PRINCE, HAITI,

"November 9, 1942.

"Permit us on the occasion of the debarkation of the forces of the United States in North Africa to address to Your Excellency and to the people of the United States the expression of our admiration and our hearty congratulations on this titanic exploit. May the Government and the people of the United States be ever assured of the solidarity of the Government and of the people of Haiti. This morning we addressed to the Haitian people and to the populations of French language of this continent a message explaining to them the real meaning of the magnificent and grandiose action which the valiant forces of the United States have just taken in Africa.

ELIE LESCOT

President of the Republic of Haiti"

Honduras

"TEGUCIGALPA, HONDURAS,

"November 10, 1942.

"Renewing to Your Excellency the declarations of solidarity and cooperation of the Government and people of Honduras in the present conflict, it is a great pleasure for me to express to you my congratulations on the brilliant action of the American forces in Africa, which will be a notable contribution to the final victory.

"Sincerely,

TIBURCIO CARÍAS A."

Nicaragua

"MANAGUA, NICARAGUA,

"November 8, 1942.

"In the name of the people and Government of Nicaragua I cordially congratulate Your Excel-

lency on the opportune occupation of French North African territory in obedience to strategic necessities for the liberation of France itself and other nations subjected to Nazi barbarism. Greatly cheered, I have on this date given statements to the press and broadcasting stations urging the noble French people to have, as I have, full confidence in the assurances which President Roosevelt has given regarding the ends and purposes of that military occupation which gives new guaranties for our continent and for the final triumph of free peoples. Sincere friend,

A. SOMOZA
President of Nicaragua

Panama

"PANAMA CITY, November 9, 1942.

"In the name of the Government and people of Panama I express to Your Excellency the deep satisfaction felt by this allied nation over the transcendental and valorous step taken by the American forces to the end of accomplishing the liberation of a France oppressed by the totalitarian forces. Panama, which has been joined to the noble French nation by unforgettable historic ties; which recalls with gratitude French efforts in the construction of the inter-oceanic passage, and which has felt for that great nation the spiritual warmth which has always been inspired in all free peoples by France, defender of the rights of man and the noble postulates of liberty and justice, must feel in these moments intense gratification on seeing that the hour of her final liberation is approaching. The Panamanian nation, which has faith in the high aims of the United Nations; which has seen how Your Excellency has always been faithful in the fulfillment of your promises to the peoples of America, and which, by the close contact which it has maintained with your powerful nation, is well acquainted with the respect which your Government holds for the sovereignty and dignity of other nations, large or small, can reiterate to the French people the assurance that this action has no other aim than a noble desire to aid in the liberation of France

and lead to the definitive destruction of the forces of oppression which threaten the entire world with humiliation and vassalage.

RICARDO ADOLFO DE LA GUARDIA
President of the Republic of Panama

Uruguay

"MONTEVIDEO, URUGUAY,
"November 9, 1942.

"Before the grave and decisive measures which the Government of Your Excellency has seen itself obliged to adopt toward certain territories of the African continent in safeguarding menaced right and justice, I wish to send to you the testimony of the intimate agreement with which the people and the Government of Uruguay observe the development of these extraordinary events, both impressed with the high motives and noble aims which have guided Your Excellency from the day on which you decided that your country should join those which are fighting for the defense of civilization. The countries of America have always stood morally and politically with that of Your Excellency, esteeming that the union of the democracies represents in these trying times the salvation of the principles that constitute the *raison d'être* of our peoples. France will rise again without doubt, powerful and strengthened by her unjust martyrdom, expanding in the future the ranks of the League of Nations that will found a new international world based upon justice and honor. I reiterate to Your Excellency the testimony of my highest consideration.

ALFREDO BALDOMIR
*President of the Oriental
Republic of Uruguay*

[Released to the press November 11-14]

Translations of telegrams of support and congratulation which have been received by the Secretary of State, together with his reply to the Argentine Foreign Minister, follow:

"NOVEMBER 10, 1942.

"The Ambassador of the United States has informed this chancery of the military operations initiated by your country in North Africa

and the disinterested purposes which inspire its plan. The Argentinian Government and people follow with a common interest the efforts of your great friendly nation to protect the security of America and they repeat on this occasion their faith in the high ideals of neighborly continental relations. Accept, Excellency, the assurances of my friendly and high consideration.

ENRIQUE RUIZ GUINAZU
Minister of Foreign Affairs

"NOVEMBER 14, 1942.

"I wish to express my thanks for Your Excellency's message with reference to the action of American armed forces in North Africa. This Government is happy to receive from you an expression of interest on behalf of the people and Government of Argentina in the efforts of the United States to safeguard the security of the Western Hemisphere. With assurances of my high personal regard.

CORDELL HULL
*Secretary of State of the
United States of America*

"CIUDAD TRUJILLO, DOMINICAN REPUBLIC,

"November 9, 1942.

"My Government, backed by the entire Dominican people, expresses to Your Excellency its complete solidarity with the military action undertaken by the American forces in the French possessions in Africa.

"On this most important occasion, we assure our noble and heroic allies of the complete confidence and absolute faith which we have in the unqualified triumph of the cause supported by the United Nations, which means: liberty, civilization and the destruction of the forces which throughout history have produced the greatest ills of humanity.

RAFAEL L. TRUJILLO
President of the Dominican Republic

[Released to the press November 14]

The Secretary issued the following statement on November 14:

"I have been greatly moved by the great number of messages of support received by the United States Government this week from our good neighbors in the other Americas in regard to the United Nations offensive in Africa. Telegrams of appreciation and pledges of co-operation have come from high officials and persons in all walks of life. It has been possible to acknowledge only a small portion of these messages individually. Therefore I want to take this opportunity to express my own deep gratitude and that of the United States Government for this impressive demonstration of support and encouragement from the friends who are united with us in the determination to preserve our American liberties."

REPORT ON SHIPMENTS OF LEND-LEASE EQUIPMENT TO EGYPT

[Released to the press by the White House November 9]

The magnificent British victory in Egypt was aided to an important extent by the operation of the Lend-Lease Act and is an outstanding example of combined use of American and Allied resources, the President said on November 9 in releasing a report on shipment of American equipment to Egypt made to him by the Lend-Lease Administrator, E. R. Stettinius, Jr.

The report showed that total exports of American munitions and other products to Egypt since the beginning of lend-lease (March 1941 through September 1942) amounted to \$636,952,000. This includes both lend-lease and direct purchase. By types of product the breakdown is as follows:

Ordnance.....	\$130,058,000
Aircraft (not including flyaways).....	164,149,000
Tanks.....	88,239,000
Motor vehicles.....	73,113,000
Miscellaneous manufactures.....	74,606,000
Agricultural products.....	33,687,000
Industrial materials.....	73,100,000
Total.....	\$636,952,000

The great bulk of these shipments took place in the last nine months. During this period we shipped to Egypt over 1,000 planes, many hundreds of tanks, of which more than 500 were

mediums, 20,000 trucks, and hundreds of pieces of artillery.

The President said: "While we must not overlook the fact that the larger part of the equipment used in Egypt is of British origin, we have a right to be proud that so much and such excellent equipment from American factories and shipyards contributed to the victory. In particular we should be gratified by the performance of American-made tanks.

"From the enactment of the Lend-Lease Act this country has proceeded on the policy that in

giving the tools of war to the nations fighting the Axis, we are aiding ourselves just as surely as if those tools were in the hands of American soldiers. Since we ourselves became involved in the war we have known that our own armed forces must also take part in the fight, but we have not swerved from our policy of the maximum possible aid to our allies.

"In the Egyptian campaign we can see the vindication of the lend-lease idea. We propose to continue to expand our lend-lease aid to all our allies until complete victory is achieved."

ADDRESS BY THE FORMER AMERICAN AMBASSADOR TO JAPAN, NOVEMBER 10¹

[Released to the press November 11]

For more than ten years it was my responsibility to act as the representative of the United States in Tokyo. Throughout that time I was aware of the portentousness of American-Japanese relations. It is scarcely a confession for me to admit to you that this responsibility was the weightiest—and at the end the most sorrowful—which I have ever borne. Yet in coming before you tonight I feel that I am carrying out a mission even more urgent, even more weighty, than the one I undertook in Tokyo. In Japan I served as the representative of the American people and Government; with my colleagues in the world-wide system of the Foreign Service I sought to hold America's diplomatic front against the threat of crisis and war. But in coming before you tonight I carry no formal diploma. My mission is not to any one of you alone but to all of you. I am charged by my own knowledge of dangerous truth to put that truth before you. I can succeed only if I make this truth plain to each of you.

The truth I bring to you is simple. It is the story of the power of our enemies, the Japanese. I bring this story to you almost directly from Tokyo; it is not so many months ago that I lived

in the midst of our enemies, that I beheld their power, and saw the "glory" which they thought their weapons had achieved. Even in coming back to America I saw further evidences of the terrible power and successful criminality of Japan. I saw one of the world's greatest naval bases—Shonanko on Shonanto. A huge city fed the commercial and war fleets of victorious Japan. Rubber and oil were plentiful—for Japan. Out of sight, but known to be there, huge shipyards and drydocks worked for Japan. A cosmopolitan population, vast in number and including thousands and thousands of English-speaking prisoners, worked in bondage for Japan. That was *Shonan*, which is the Japanese phrase for *southern glory*. Not so long ago we knew it as Singapore.

We cannot and must not deceive ourselves about the war in the Pacific. Japan launched the northwestern and far-western Pacific campaigns. These were a war in themselves, and Japan has temporarily won that particular war. Japan has beaten us in the Philippines—and our allies in neighboring areas—as she has never beat the Chinese in China. What we now face is a long, slow recovery of our own losses—only ultimately the attack on the enemy's own cities and bases—if we do not realize the magnitude of the task and equip ourselves for it. We rejoice at each victory of our armed forces in the Solomons, forgetting that a few months ago the Solomons were uncontested British territory.

¹ Delivered by the Honorable Joseph C. Grew before the Academy of Political Science, New York, N.Y., Nov. 10, 1942.

We must remember that each victory won today is only a stepping-stone in the rolling back of Japan's advances.

Let me tell you why Japan succeeded. Let me present the case to you forthrightly and simply. To you, I am no representative of a foreign power, pleading for the recognition of a cause. I am your own former ambassador from Tokyo, and I plead for nothing but the truth. This truth can be put in three sentences:

Japan temporarily won the struggle for the western Pacific because Japan was immensely strong—physically strong, technically strong, militarily strong, and, most of all, psychologically strong.

Japan—the Empire of Nippon—was strong when the war started; but the new Japan—the great slave empire of the “Greater East Asia”—is today potentially the strongest power in the world.

Japan can be beaten; but Japan can be beaten only by physical and moral strength equal to or greater than her own, and that strength can be supplied only by the all-out effort of all Americans.

There you have it. These three sentences are all I have to tell. Some of you may see the picture, the whole picture, now. Others may prefer that I follow out, in general terms at least, the implications of these statements.

First, Japan is strong. Japan is not a little country. The Japanese are not a little people, except in stature, and they more than compensate for stature by vigor and skill. There are more Japanese than there are Englishmen or Frenchmen or Italians. Japan is about as populous as the German Reich, and each single Japanese is a part of an effective war machine. Man for man, nation for nation, Japan measures up to the highest standards of organized power in the modern world.

Japan is civilized, in her own way. This civilization is deep and beautiful, but its culture has a streak of brutality and subservience in it which makes Japanese ideals alien to ours or to the ideals of the Chinese or any other of her neighbors. Japan was well-ordered and

metropolitan when New York, in our infant Republic, was a small commercial port and Washington a scattered village in the thickets along the Potomac. At that time the Emperor Napoleon never saw—perhaps never knew about—the largest city in the world he sought to conquer. That city was not his Paris, nor the London he sought to conquer, nor the Moscow where he met nemesis; that largest city was Yedo, which we know as Tokyo, where a vast dictatorship held a great urban culture under absolute and unrelenting control. Out of this old, big, rich, strange civilization, there emerged the power and brutality of modern Japan. It was no miracle that Japan adopted our machinery and our weapons so rapidly: Japanese civilization did it—despotic, sophisticated, military civilization.

Japan is unified and pervasively governed. The Japanese live by their own rules. They swept ahead of Asia by the dictates of their rulers. They were accustomed to authoritarian, totalitarian government from the ages of their past growth. When Hitler was a maladjusted, unhappy student, and Mussolini an ardent young radical, the Japanese military leaders were men of foresight and ruthlessly cold vision. They already had an obedient, faithful people at their command—a people who believed in the rule of the warrior, in the unfreedom of the common man, in the superiority of the Japanese race to all others, and in the absolute incontrovertible rightness of what their government did. Japanese democracy never went behind these assumptions; Japanese freedom never included the freedom to challenge the *Kokutai*—literally, the national body—of the Empire of Japan. Hitler fought the German people first, with the stormtroopers and the SS., before he captured the German state and the German *Wehrmacht* as instruments of renewed attacks on free men; but the Japanese leaders never faced an effective opposition. They inherited their power from the dictatorial, military past of Japan; when the hour came for them to bid for wider power, perhaps for world dominion, they stepped smoothly into their inheritance. Today we probably have spiritual allies among the German people; we have few

among the Japanese. Whatever they may have believed, the Japanese today support their government. That is the difference between the raw, new authoritarianism of Hitler and the old, suave authoritarianism of Japan. Germany will stand just so much and will then collapse from within; the Japanese will stop fighting only when the last platoon of infantry and the last torpedo-boat crew on the water have no further hope. It is my considered opinion—and in the course of two wars I have seen each at first hand—that as soldiers the Japanese are definitely superior to the Germans.

Civilized, unified, military, Japan is also up to date. In the big cities of Japan skyscrapers floated on pools of sand, ingeniously built to withstand the concussion of earthquake. The streets are asphalted and clean. Busses and streetcars run regularly and well. Private homes are cheaply built but simple and tasteful; the Japanese find them comfortable, and if one burns down it costs a fraction of the cost of an equivalent American home to replace. The Japanese have extracted the best of their old thrift and the best of modern industrialism. They combine them. In the shadow of long-range electric power lines, the common peasants follow an intensive agriculture which keeps the home empire blockade-proof and self-sufficient. In the modern factories, which produce at speeds and standards equaling our own, the labor force lives by the old Japanese scale and makes possible the price competition which we all knew before the war. This up-to-dateness of Japan, economically as well as psychologically, depends on the traditional Japan. The Japanese soldier or sailor who lives and fights like a Spartan is not undergoing privation; he has been a Spartan from birth. Just because a Japanese operates a battleship, a machine lathe, a modern locomotive, or a combat plane, he does not become un-Japanese; he is still a tough, simply satisfied man who believes in obedience and who is used to hard living because he has known no other. To call a Japanese worker or soldier a "coolie" is to forget the most dangerous thing about him: the fact that he, no less than you or I, is a man of the twentieth century and

can fight, perhaps beat us at some of our own games and with some of our own weapons.

Such is the home empire of Nippon. I do not have time to tell you of the internal sea communications which make of the Japanese Empire an immense, immobile, and unmovable fleet—a fleet larger than the mind of man has ever dreamed of building—anchored forever close to the coast of Asia. Islands are unsinkable aircraft carriers, and Japan is all islands. Beyond this, I wish there were time to tell you of the newly built, up-to-date Japanese merchant marine, of the efficient navy, the huge army, the indispensable factories working at full time, the diversity and richness of the resources of Japan. You have known that these things were there; remember it now, keep it in mind, and consider with me what Japan has added.

To the home empire which I have described, Japan has added immense possessions in three wars of conquest: the war with China in 1895, the war with Russia in 1905, and the present war, which began in Manchuria in 1931. Japan has taken Korea, China's Manchurian provinces, the grain lands and coal and iron of north China, the dairy land of inner Mongolia, the coast and main rivers of most of China, with the biggest cities of China; Japan has taken Formosa and Hainan, Indochina and Thailand, Burma and British Malaya, the vast empire of the Netherlands Indies, our daughter democracy of the Philippines, some of the British, Portuguese, and Australian islands of the southwest Pacific, and the strategic Andamans in the Bay of Bengal. Militarily and navally, this new and greater empire depends on internal communications, which—in simple language—means that we have to go the long way around while they work the short way through. To contain and roll back such an empire, the encircling forces cannot be merely equal; they must be superior, and be superior in geometric, not arithmetical, ratio. Economically—mark this, for here is the very essence of danger—economically, the so-called "Greater East Asia" contains everything, absolutely everything, which a great power needs. Grain, meat, fish,

fruits, tobacco, palms for oil, sugar, rubber, oil, coal, iron, electric power, labor skilled and unskilled—all of this is there. The strong Japan which has defeated us and our allies momentarily in the Far East has become "Japanese East Asia". If Japan could defeat indomitable China, organize her present holdings, consolidate her position, Japan—not Germany, not Britain, not Russia, not ourselves—Japan could become the strongest power in the world.

The Japanese need only one thing: time. They must try to correct their own political mistakes and military offenses. They must try to browbeat or cajole the peoples whose lands they have occupied. They must get the machinery, technical and financial, of exploitation going at full blast. Japan is entrenching herself in this empire of her conquests so rapidly that days are our most precious possessions in the war. To lose a day is as bad as losing a ship. We cannot wait. We cannot be leisurely. We cannot afford debate, or disunity, or indecision. Japan is getting stronger every hour, and this new Japan is not merely our equal; the new Japan is potentially our military superior. If we fight there, soon, and hard, we shall not have to fight here, later on, and with heavy handicap.

Do you not see the second of the truths I have stated: the fact that this new Japan, conceived in the invasion of China and born in the conquests of 1942, is a new, terrible power not known before in the world? We cannot let this slave empire become entrenched! I am sure that you cannot fail to see this.

As Americans, we can see the third truth in our own hearts. We know that there cannot be the slightest doubt of our own victory; but we must all see and understand that the task is a heavy one. China, the largest and most patient nation in the world, has stopped the thrust of Japanese invasion with the living bodies of her young men—indeed of men, women, and children; she has built a new and unforgettable Great Wall with the heroic Chinese dead, who have died to protect free men in China and everywhere. But China has done her share, and more; China alone cannot defeat Japan. We must weight and tip the scales to

victory. We cannot accept an armistice or stalemate, for the hours are with Japan, not with us. If we do not fight at our very hardest, and fight now, the period of our blood, sweat, and tears may be indefinitely and unnecessarily prolonged. We cannot pause, or hesitate, or kill time—"as if you could kill time without injuring eternity!"

The Japanese are counting on our not being prepared to make great sacrifices. They have put great store in what they think to be our softness. They look upon us as constitutional weaklings, demanding our daily comforts and unwilling to make the sacrifices demanded for victory. The Japanese attach great importance to what they thought was our disunity over the war issue, and they count on us to delay before we develop a fighting spirit. That delay, they feel, will give them time to obtain complete control of all east Asia. When they struck, they made no provision for failure; they left no road open for retreat. Japan is counting on you—on each of us, one by one—to hold back and delay the American war effort long enough for Japan to consolidate her potential invincibility. Japan needs and relies upon your hesitation, or partial effort, or doubt. It is up to you and me to see that Japan does not get this.

If we act soon, we can strengthen our Chinese ally. We can, as Mr. Forrestal recently pointed out, continue to protect Russia's Asiatic flank by holding Japan's forces in the Pacific. We can restore hope and can carry the four freedoms to all the peoples now enslaved by Japan. If we fight and give aid now, we shall still have allies in Asia, bases in Asia, and an enemy not yet wholly prepared. Any advantages of delay today can be purchased only at one price: larger numbers of deaths of our own soldiers and our allies' today and tomorrow. We can buy additional hours for leisurely preparation with additional lives of our young men. We could buy peace only with our national honor and our own security. None of us wants to do this.

We must, therefore, be prepared to go forward against Japan with a full realization of the nature of our task and the gravity of our

responsibility. Every adult in the United States, even every child that can walk and speak, can help in some way to promote the war effort. The troops are only the fighting front of the army which is America. We are all enlisted—of necessity—in this war for freedom. In this battle we can do no better than to recall and to

make our own resolve in the words of an American soldier, Martin Treptow, who fell at Chateau Thierry. He wrote in his diary:

"I will work; I will save; I will sacrifice; I will endure; I will fight cheerfully and do my utmost; as if the whole struggle depended on me alone."

ADDRESS BY THE FORMER AMERICAN AMBASSADOR TO JAPAN, NOVEMBER 14¹

[Released to the press November 14]

It is necessary that we now assess, coolly and impassively, the events of the past 90 years in the Pacific—the 90 years that have elapsed since Commodore Perry concluded with Japan the treaty which opened the way for the subsequent admission of Japan into the family of nations.

We are today being given dreadful evidence that the process of Japan's emergence from three centuries of isolation and of her assimilation into the family of nations is far from complete. Except for brief contacts at widely-spaced intervals—the introduction into Japan of Chinese learning and arts in the seventh and twelfth centuries and the propagation of Roman Catholicism by Portuguese and Spanish priests in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—Japan had, for geographic and other reasons, been in virtual isolation since the very beginning of her history. Her civilization and culture had evolved, therefore, in a wholly self-contained environment. She had contributed nothing to the world at large and, notwithstanding superficial evidence to the contrary, she had remained, politically, socially, and intellectually, impervious to spasmodic foreign influences. Her polity, then as now, was tribal in character. As a nation the Japanese possessed the virtues of a tribal community: homogeneity and subordination of the individual to the community; but they also possessed the defects and weaknesses of a primitive community:

they revered the tribal sanctions and feared change. They had relentlessly suppressed any attempt to apply reason to the persistent problems of man, the understanding of them and the effort to resolve them constituting his chief warrant for claim to superiority over other animals.

The position in the western Pacific during the early 1850's was one which the Japanese were studying with great uneasiness. The activities in the north by Russia gave progressively persistent notice of the restlessness of a vigorous continental people and of their gradual but inexorable movement southward along the eastern littoral of Asia. British influence, on the other hand, was steadily being extended northward from Malaya and along the China coast, with indications that the British were giving profound attention to the economic potentialities of Japan as well as of China. European influences, which were fated shortly to conflict with each other, appeared to be moving toward each other along the coast of Asia; conceivably they might meet in Japan, which might well become an arena for the quarrels of European powers.

Although the American Government was cognizant of the trend of these movements in the Pacific, its purpose in sending Commodore Perry to Japan in 1853 was primarily to ameliorate conditions which grew out of the growing commerce of the United States with China and the presence of a large number of American whaling ships off the coast of Japan. The advent in the China trade of steamships, with their limited capacity to carry coal, created insistent need for at least one coaling station intermediate

¹ Delivered by the Honorable Joseph C. Grew before the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, Chicago, Ill., Nov. 14, 1942, and broadcast over the red network of the National Broadcasting Company.

between the Pacific coast of America and China. Further, American vessels had been shipwrecked in Japanese waters and American seamen, it will be recalled, had been treated with inconceivable brutality. A third consideration was the need for establishing depots in Japan from which American whaling ships could restock themselves and thus obviate the need to make the long haul to Honolulu and back whenever they ran short of supplies.

After incredible obstacles and difficulties, Commodore Perry succeeded, on March 31, 1854, in concluding with the Japanese a treaty which, although limited in scope, met the immediate needs of the moment. However, it contained one feature the importance of which the Japanese had not foreseen, and that was the assent of the Japanese to the stationing in Japan of an American consular officer. It was in the exercise of that treaty provision that the United States dispatched to Japan in 1856 its first diplomatic representative, Townsend Harris.

The selection of Harris for the post was an extraordinarily happy one. He had spent many years in the Orient as a merchant; he had acquired a familiar knowledge of Japan and of the Japanese, of their form of government, of their customs, and of their characteristics; and he had dedicated himself to the task of helping the Japanese to prevent the extension to Japan of exploitative practices pursued by the white man in his dealings with the backward peoples of the East. Harris also was keenly aware of the possibility of Japan's becoming a battleground for competitive European influences. So long as Japan remained in seclusion, with her doors shut to foreign intercourse of any kind, she was not entitled to the privileges which membership in the family of nations would confer; and it was Harris' aim to induct Japan into the family of nations under the most favorable auspices. He prepared and, after intolerable delays and indignities imposed upon him by the Japanese, presented to the Japanese Government a Treaty of Commerce and Navigation of the most liberal character possible. He told the Japanese that, this being their first treaty of commerce and navigation, they would be well advised to ac-

cept it as he had prepared it, so that when other nations sought special privileges in Japan it would be in order for the Japanese to say to such nations that what was good enough for the United States was good enough for them. It took Harris two years of patient and tactful negotiation before his treaty was signed. But this American did far more than negotiate a treaty. He educated the Japanese officials in the ways of diplomacy, international law, economics, and commerce. He provided Japan with the information which she needed to merge into the world. He answered innumerable questions on every conceivable subject: on social customs of the Occident, mechanics, contemporary science. He taught the principles of currency and exchange. A Japanese, Dr. Inazo Nitobe, wrote of him: "A man of stern rectitude and gentlest powers of persuasion, he, indeed, more than any other, deserves the epithet of benefactor: because in all his dealing with us, the weaker party, he never took advantage of our ignorance, but formulated a treaty with the strictest sense of justice."

I have spoken at some length of America's first representatives to Japan because, in what I shall have to say about Japan's conduct as an international power responsible to the laws of nations, it might otherwise appear that the United States, as the government responsible for the opening of Japan to the world, had somehow failed to exemplify the conduct we expect in the field of international relations. We can look with pride upon a record of rectitude and honest dealing and the absence of imperialistic design.¹

Now what about Japan's own record in the field of international relations? How has she reciprocated the treatment she has received at our hands ever since the time of Townsend Harris?

Let us look at the record.

First take the case of Korea. Thirteen hundred and more years ago the Japanese lost a

¹The foregoing is based upon material in the manuscript of a book in preparation by a member of my staff at the former American Embassy in Tokyo. [Author's note.]

long-held dominion which they possessed at the tip of Korea. The formidable fleets and armies of a resurgent China drove Japan, with Korean help, out of the peninsula; and from the seventh century after Christ to the sixteenth, the Japanese minded the lesson they had been taught by force. At the end of the sixteenth century the Japanese military dictator, Hideyoshi, launched a grandiose attack on Korea. He himself declared this to be the first step in the conquest of Asia, and he sent insulting letters to the Ming court of China and to the Spanish authorities in the Philippines. He announced that with his forces he would roll China up like a mat and would ultimately proceed against India. But the Chinese Throne sent armies to Korea to help the Koreans; the Japanese, after committing fearful depredations, were stopped; and the imperial ambitions of Japan proved unavailing before the popular resistance of the Koreans and the limitless patience of the Chinese Army.

After the reopening of Japan by Perry, ambitions of Japan on the continent, which had been dormant since the time of Hideyoshi, began again to assert themselves. China maintained over Korea a shadowy suzerainty, which had little significance beyond the tribute paid periodically by the King of Korea to the Emperor of China. That suzerainty was more a manifestation of the cultural sentimentalities between the two countries than it was a definitive political relationship. The Japanese strove, wholly against the wishes of the Koreans, to break that bond. They provoked incidents. They went to war against China in 1894 and 1895 and wrung from a defeated China the solemn recognition of Korean independence.

Nevertheless, the Japanese turned—in the midst of the war with Russia—and thrust upon Korea the status of a dependency. Japan took over Korea as a protectorate, while renewing her pledges of limited independence for Korea.

Japan demanded independence for Korea; when independence came, Japan violated it. Japan imposed a protectorate and promised Korea autonomy. In 1908 the honored and famous Marquis Ito reiterated his government's pledge

by announcing that Japan would not annex Korea. In 1910 Korea was annexed. There are the pledges, and there the performance.

Another case, the Washington Conference and the years that followed. In 1921 the representatives of nine governments met in Washington to consider the problems of the Pacific area and to forge instruments which would guarantee peace and stability in the Far East. One of the results of this conference was the Four Power Treaty, by which four governments—Japan, the British Empire, France, and the United States—pledged themselves to respect each other's island possessions in the Pacific.

But in 1939 Japan declared without conference with the other contracting parties that she had annexed the Spratly Islands in the China Sea—lands that had long been claimed by France. By 1940 it became apparent from the statements of the Japanese Foreign Minister, Mr. Matsuoka, that Japan considered any and all islands in the "Greater East Asia" sphere to be fair game. History has demonstrated only too clearly the scope of Japan's intentions and the thoroughness of its disregard for its own pledges.

Japan gave another pledge at the Washington Conference: a pledge regarding naval limitations. Associating itself with other leading naval powers who were anxious to bring stability to the Pacific, the Japanese Government promised to cooperate in reducing the heavy burden of naval expenditures.

This treaty Japan denounced in 1934, with the result that it expired two years later. While Japan was acting strictly within its legal rights, any hope for stability in the Pacific collapsed with the end of this treaty. Reports of Japan's heavy naval construction program forced the other naval powers to resume competitive arming, thus fortifying the groundwork for a war in the Pacific.

Look next at Japan's record with regard to the mandated islands in the Pacific. When in 1920 Japan received the mandate for those islands formerly under the German flag, it was with the promise—and I quote—that "no military or naval bases shall be established or forti-

fications erected in the territory". A further agreement with the United States in 1922 stipulated that American missionaries would be allowed to settle in the islands and that the usual facilities would be extended to American vessels calling at their ports.

And how were those promises honored? From the very beginning Japan discouraged the visits of foreign nationals. Police regulations, delay, every form of obstructionism was brought to bear on any persons other than Japanese who attempted to enter these islands. When war broke over the Pacific, Japan's lack of faith in holding to her obligations became dangerously apparent.

Pledges were also given to respect the rights of France and the Netherlands to their Pacific possessions.

On February 4, 1922 Japan, along with other countries with interests in the Pacific, informed the Netherlands Government that "it (Japan) is firmly resolved to respect the rights of the Netherlands in relation to their insular possessions in the region of the Pacific Ocean." This pledge was in effect reaffirmed on April 15, 1940, when the Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Arita, said, "The Japanese Government cannot but be deeply concerned over any development accompanying the aggravation of the war in Europe that may affect the *status quo* of the Dutch East Indies."

As soon, however, as Germany had occupied the Netherlands, Japan used every pressure within her means to extort economic concessions and privileges from the Netherlands East Indies. Nothing but the brave and stubborn resistance of the Netherlands officials to these proposals prevented Japan from forcing the other powers out of this economic market.

On June 19, 1940 the Japanese Foreign Office, through its spokesman, Mr. Suma, announced that the maintenance of the *status quo* in French Indochina was of equal concern and importance to the Japanese Government.

Yet, as soon as French resistance had been broken in Europe, the Japanese Government demanded and obtained special military rights in northern Indochina. Japanese troops moved into French territory. Airports were taken

over. And Japanese officials, true to a form which by now had become pretty well established, went on announcing that their government had absolutely no designs on territory that was in the very process of being occupied.

Thus, on September 24, 1940 Mr. Suma declared that, far from having any territorial ambitions in French Indochina, his government was moving in its armed forces only in order to settle the China Affair. This disingenuous remark, which excused one aggression on the claim that it was necessary in order to carry out another, apparently struck Mr. Suma as very good logic.

Again, on December 9, 1940 the Foreign Minister, Mr. Matsuoka, said: "Our objectives in the south are purely economic. We are against conquest, oppression, and exploitation by Japan as much as by any other nation." This, after nearly 10 years of armed aggression in China!

On February 25, 1941 another exhibit was added to this collection of statements when a spokesman for the Japanese military mission in Indochina insisted that Japan wanted no naval or military bases in southern Indochina, but only, as he explained, "rubber and rice to help Indochina prosper in the new order of east Asia". If to take by robbery the commodities of a country means to help that country to "prosper", the lands of the Pacific war under Japanese control are blessed indeed.

But of all the aggressions which have written the name of Japan in infamy upon the pages of history, those against the country and the people of China make the blackest mark. The story goes back a long way, and I can point to but a few of its chapters.

In 1908 Japan and the United States entered into an agreement regarding their respective policies in the Pacific. One of the provisions stated that the two governments "are also determined to preserve the common interest of all powers in China by supporting by all pacific means at their disposal the independence and integrity of China and the principle of equal opportunity for commerce and industry of all nations in that Empire."

Yet in 1915, while most of the great powers were locked in struggle on the European conti-

nent, Japan secretly presented to China its notorious "twenty-one demands". You will recall that these demands, if they had been met, would have made of China a vassal state. The terms included recognition of special rights in Shantung, Manchuria, and Mongolia, equal ownership in the largest mining and smelting company in mid-China, leased harbors in Fukien Province, and the employment of none but Japanese advisers. China's Army and Navy were to be trained by Japanese officers, and schools teaching the Japanese language were to be opened throughout the land. No agreements between China and a foreign power with respect to loans, the building of railroads, or the construction of harbors in Fukien were to be made until Japan had been consulted.

By permitting knowledge to be published regarding these demands which Japan had hoped to keep secret, Yuan Shih-kai, President of the young Chinese Republic, was able to obtain a modification of the more flagrant items and a postponement of some of the requests for Japanese control.

In signing the Nine Power Treaty at Washington, Japan again pledged her respect for China's sovereignty. Specifically, Japan promised to respect "the sovereignty, the independence, and the territorial and administrative integrity of China".

And what was the result of this solemn promise?

In 1931 the military occupation of Manchuria was begun on the flimsiest of pretexts. At the very moment when Japanese armies were overrunning Manchuria, the Japanese Government issued a statement which included the following words: "It may be superfluous to repeat that the Japanese Government harbors no territorial designs in Manchuria." Superfluous indeed! For the world was learning that any such statement was a practical notification of aggressive intent.

In March 1932 a Japanese puppet regime was installed in Manchuria. This regime shortly afterward signed an agreement which authorized the stationing of large numbers of Japanese troops within its borders. The troops have not been removed to this day.

Eight months after this step had been taken, Mr. Matsuoka, as a delegate, stated before the Council of the League of Nations: "The policy, the hope, the determination of my country is the maintenance of peace. We want war with no nation. We want no more territory. We are not aggressors. We desire deeply and earnestly the welfare of our great neighbor."

Within a month of Mr. Matsuoka's reassuring statement, Japanese forces had overrun the whole of Manchuria. In 1933 they moved into the adjacent province of Jehol.

Two years later a movement for what was called autonomy in north China was begun by the Japanese. In 1937 war broke out again near Peking. Twenty days after the first exchange of shots near the Marco Polo Bridge, Prince Konoye, then Premier, said: "In sending troops to north China, of course, the Government has no other purpose, as was explained in its recent statement, than to preserve the peace of east Asia."

The peace of east Asia? China has experienced this kind of peace for 11 years. It has suffered the embrace of a self-styled friend who has bombed its civilian population and its undefended cities, wantonly destroyed or appropriated the cherished personal possessions of millions of its people, pursued and machine-gunned the homeless, and committed the atrocities of Nanking paralleled on smaller scale in a thousand and one other places. China knows that what Japan means by peace is utter submission or extinction. China knows what all of us must learn, and learn quickly: that, faced with such a foe, there is no effective argument but crushing, total military defeat of the enemy and the thorough elimination of the militarist attitude, the militarist training, the militarist institutions, and the militarist leaders who have let loose this plague of destruction.

In 1939 Japan continued her well-made schedule of conquest by occupying the large Chinese island of Hainan and establishing a naval base there. This island, as we now know, was later used as a training base for the troops that were being schooled in the jungle tactics that Japan's militarists were already developing

for their attacks in the Philippines, in Malaya and Java, and throughout the Far East.

In 1940 the now familiar pattern of the Japanese puppet state was imposed upon the provinces of north China, Nanking was dubbed the capital of the renegade "central government" of Wang Ch'ing-wei, and the world was scarcely surprised or startled when Japan recognized this regime as the "National Government of China".

If the world still hoped that after setting up a puppet regime in Manchuria Japan would at least respect the promises of free commercial opportunity which she had made in the Nine Power Treaty, it did not have to wait long for disillusionment.

Yet the same sweet words preceded in the usual fashion Japan's shutting of the door. The puppet regime in announcing its independence was made to say: "The foreign policy of the new state shall be to seek and further promote cordial relations with foreign powers by winning their faith and respect, and strictly to observe international conventions. Foreign investments by any nation shall be welcomed for the furtherance of trade and the exploitation of natural resources, thus bringing the principles of the Open Door and equal opportunity and the like to a fuller realization." The so-called "protocol" by which Japan recognized its puppet state made a point of referring to this pledge.

Yet, as quickly as these promises were made, monopolies in favor of Japanese nationals and corporations were set up which effectively shut out not only American and other western powers from trading rights but the Chinese themselves. And as Japan's military control extended southward in China, American and other non-Japanese business activities were systematically pinched, crowded, or shouldered out. The door to China was to open only at the magic touch of a Japanese. One is reminded of the words with which Perry was greeted: "The place is not designed to treat of anything from foreigners. You will leave here."

There are many other chapters in the story of Japan's pledges and performances—the pledge, for instance, which followed the sinking

by the Japanese of the U.S.S. *Panay* and three other American vessels in the Yangtze River. Part of the settlement asked by the United States Government and given by Japan was the assurance that American nationals and property in China would not again be attacked or interfered with. In a note to the United States Government of December 24, 1937 the Japanese Government said, "Rigid orders have been issued to the Military, Naval and Foreign Office authorities to pay, in the light of the present untoward incident, greater attention than hitherto to observance of the instructions that have been repeatedly given against infringement of, or unwarranted interference with, the rights and interests of the United States and other third powers."

Nevertheless, Japanese forces continued to bomb American property in China, even when no conceivable military objective would be served and even though such properties were clearly marked with American flags. Several hundred of these inexcusable violations are on record in the Department of State. They include the damaging of other American naval vessels, the bombing of mission properties, the mistreatment of Americans by Japanese soldiers, and the imposing of baneful restrictions upon American commercial and business activities.

It is needless to prolong the story through all its chapters. An editor of the *Atlantic Monthly* is credited with the comment, when charged by an aspiring author with having failed to read his whole manuscript, that it is unnecessary to eat a whole egg in order to know that it is bad. It is unnecessary to produce the whole history of Japan's depredations and broken promises. Japan's opening of hostilities without warning, its bombing of open towns—both acts in violation of a convention signed by her government—would lead us to no different conclusion than that to which the examples already given inevitably and conclusively lead.

The men now controlling Japan are ruthless, unscrupulous, and dangerous. They are not impeded by the moral scruples which are the basis of good government and of sound interna-

tional relations. They give no quarter and they seek none. They know what they want, and what they want is nothing less than world domination. No means are unjustified in their eyes which will take them toward that goal. They are possessed of a dangerous and fanatic belief, which we can scarcely hope to understand, that Japan's domination over all the world is not only possible but desirable and attainable.

We cannot treat with such men. We can only defeat them. There is no solution other than complete military victory—a victory to which we must devote every ounce of our energy, our strength, and our skill.

What likelihood is there, then, that when the war is won as we must win it we shall have any ground on which to meet Japan for a settlement? How may we insure ourselves against a repetition of the present tragedy?

There are many evidences in Japanese history during the past 80 years of a deep dissatisfaction with authoritarian government. Japan too has had its liberals, its radicals, its demands for popular government, its labor movements, its aspirations toward that true representative government which we believe to be essential to the progress and development of mankind.

Through the complete discrediting of its militarists, by overwhelming defeat, Japan

must be purged of those elements which have made it a dangerous and untrustworthy neighbor.

Some day another American will land on Japan's shores. He too will come to a country whose government is tottering—perhaps fallen completely. He will come to a land which has tried the way of conquest and found, as other conquerors have found, that the goal was an illusion. He will find a people broken with the burdens of a desperate war—a people hungry, decimated, disillusioned. He will have a great opportunity—he and the other men of the United Nations whose task it will be to bring order out of the chaos of defeat—to take advantage of that disillusionment and to work in cooperation with those within the country who have waited and even now wait for such an opportunity. For it is a task which the United Nations cannot, dare not shirk, to see that the feudal militaristic spirit which has brought death to millions shall never again rise to do battle in an unrighteous cause. Strong in the faith that man desires the good if he can but truly know it, we—the United Nations—must carry to Japan our historical faith in the orderly process of self-government under law, in the right of the individual to live without the shadows of fear and want and ignorance, and into the clean sunlight of freedom and of truth.

THE POSITION OF ITALY

ADDRESS BY ASSISTANT SECRETARY BERLE¹

[Released to the press November 15]

MY FRIENDS:

It is altogether fitting that you, Americans of Italian ancestry, have gathered here tonight to take counsel concerning Italy. You have sprung from the loins of that country, you honor her language, and seek now to preserve Italian nationhood and the Italian soul.

¹ Delivered at the joint meeting of the Mazzini Society and the Italian-American Labor Council, New York, N.Y., Nov. 14, 1942, and broadcast over Station WOR.

You have asked what Americans of Italian ancestry, speaking with the voice of America, can say to the plain people of Italy.

We are divided today from the masses of Italy by a battle line. But if for a moment we could cross that battle line, and could speak to them face to face, we should say this:

You are Italians, enslaved today by Fascist masters who secured and held power by the methods and with the ethics of gangsters.

These Fascist masters, in their turn, have betrayed the country to Nazi tyrants beyond the

Alps, and have sold you as mercenary soldiers to fight the battles for Hitler.

You seek to be free, and you ask how freedom can be secured.

Freedom is not a gift: it is an achievement. You must attain it yourselves. But, when that freedom is won, certain pledges have been made to you and to the world.

The first right which grows from the achievement of freedom is the right to maintain and preserve it, in friendly and law-abiding relations with the other nations of the world.

We know, and you know, that you have much to undo, in the hard but splendid road toward liberty. No nation can lose its freedom for 20 years without suffering the consequence of that loss. Italy has been led into grievous and terrible ways. Fascist dictatorship appeared first in Italy. It subjugated Italians by terrorism, torture, imprisonment, the lies of a controlled press, by murder. This Fascist leadership led an Italian army to conquer Abyssinia; stabbed a defeated France in the back; seized the quiet country of Albania; invaded Greece, a friendly neighbor; and maintains uneasy armies in Yugoslavia.

Like all evil conceptions, the Fascist domination of Italy at length is destroying itself. They were forced to call to their help the Nazi tyrants from beyond the Alps. For this help they paid a price: the liberty of Italy. Their Nazi ally now treats them as a conquered country of serfs. Its secret police is in every village, and Nazi officers sit in every Fascist Ministry of State. Cynically, Hitler used Italian youth as his mercenary soldiers in Russia and in Egypt. When his commanders were defeated in Egypt two weeks ago, they took all available supplies and, deserting, left Italian soldiers to perish miserably in the Egyptian deserts while the German contingents saved themselves.

Today Italy is short of food and Italian children want milk. Yet her food is taken against her will for Germans, who already have more than she. Marshal Goering cynically stated that all Europe, which includes Italy, would starve to death before Germans went hungry.

It will be remembered that in the last World War Americans fed Italy, and the young men in your armies, as children, drank American milk.

As the march of dictatorship in Europe began in the Mediterranean, so the march of freedom has at length also begun in the Mediterranean.

In 10 days of unparalleled drama, British forces, supported by Americans, overthrew Marshal Rommel in Egypt, cut his army to pieces, and are now driving the shattered fragments across the Libyan waste. Hard upon this victory came an American expedition which in 4 short days accomplished the liberation of all North Africa, from the Atlantic shoulder of Morocco to the coasts of Tunis. The armies of the United Nations stand within gunshot of the Italian shore.

In the truest sense, the armies under the United Nations flags are armies for the liberation of Italy; they are the allies and friends of the mute, plain people from the Alps to Sicily, just as they are the allies and friends of the plain people of France and of your neighbors, the Yugoslavs and the Greeks.

In this new military situation Italy once more enters the valley of decision. She must decide whether she will exhaust her remaining men, and let her nationhood ebb out as servant of a decaying Nazi state; or whether she will cleanse herself from the evil into which her Fascists have led her, rescue herself from that slavery into which she has been delivered by the bullies and cowards who have dominated her for two decades.

Plainly, there can be no compromise with the cult of Fascist slavery, nor with any of the men who have carried it on. A treaty with Fascists could be nothing more than a trap for fools. There can be no peace with those who deny the right of peace. There can be no faith in those who insist that good faith must go out of the world. There can be no compromise between free men and slave-masters. Until the Fascist domination of Italy is ended, and while Italians, however blindly, follow Fascist lead-

ership, there can be no valid dealing save by force alone.

Nevertheless, we in America insist on hoping that the day will come when we can once more welcome into the brotherhood of civilization a free and friendly Italian nation, giving again to the world the fruit of her shining culture and her splendid traditions.

The Italy of history, of the arts, of science, of unparalleled music and poetry, the Italy which peacefully conquered in the glorious competition of thought and ideas—that Italy must be saved, for who can imagine a world without her?

The United Nations have made a pledge to Italy, as to the entire world. It was drawn on a warship in the Atlantic by President Roosevelt in consultation with Prime Minister Churchill, and proclaimed on August 14, 1941. On New Year's Day of this year, all the United Nations accepted this pledge as their basis of hope for a better future of the world:

"Their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other;

"They desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned;

"They respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them;

"They will endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity;

"They desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing, for all, improved labor standards, economic advancement, and social security;

"After the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of

dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want."

Pledge was thus given not only to the victors but also to the vanquished.

No American seeks to destroy or impair the nationhood of Italy. When Italy, freed from her Fascist gangsters, is able once more to speak to the world, and as the armies of the United Nations achieve that victory which cannot fail, the pledge of the United Nations will be redeemed. This pledge does not contemplate a punitive peace: the aim is justice, not revenge.

A just peace must mean an end of danger from aggression. Secretary Hull, speaking for the Government of the United States, has insisted on surveillance of aggressor nations until there is convincing proof that their peoples "have repudiated and abandoned the monstrous philosophy of superior race and conquest by force and have embraced loyally the basic principles of peaceful processes". In the United States, Americans of all origins live in peace and friendship with many millions of Italian ancestry. We know that under right leadership this people can give that convincing proof. The Italian people now, while the struggle is still in progress, can give unquestioned evidence that the philosophy of conquest and force has been conclusively put aside, by joining the struggle against Nazi and Fascist tyranny.

This is little to ask. It asks of the people of Italy that they shall not condemn themselves and their children to further slaughter; that they shall accept the peaceful arrangements of peaceful peoples; that they shall submit only to those restraints which must bind on free peoples if freedom is to remain in the world. In the truest sense, the Italian nation is offered a freedom beyond the wildest Fascist dreams: freedom of religion, freedom of thought, freedom from want, and freedom from fear; the freedom of farm and vineyard; peace in the olive groves; quiet workmanship

in factory and shop; freedom again to work, to hope, and to live. She is asked to accept those obligations which make these freedoms equally possible for her neighbors.

For Italy, the meaning of victory by the United Nations is this:

Final destruction of the Fascist and Nazi tyranny which has oppressed her;

Opportunity to her people to give convincing proof that she has abandoned the philosophy of superior race and of conquest by force and has loyally embraced the basic principles of peaceful processes;

Enjoyment, with all other states, of access on equal terms to the trade and raw materials of the world which are needed for economic prosperity;

Opportunity to collaborate in securing for all improved labor standards, economic advancement, and social security;

Opportunity to work for the objectives to which the free nations of the world are pledged.

The destiny of the Italian people rests in their own hands.

In this hour of decision, who is the true Italian patriot? Not he who clings desperately and afraid to the chains of the Nazis, who have already declared him to be an inferior breed. Not he who in silence forgets the traditions of his heroes, and allows himself to be driven like a sheep to the slaughter to serve the warlords of Berlin. The Italian patriots of today will be those who now repeat achievements of their great forerunners, who drive out tyranny, who reestablish firm and loyal government, who make their people free, who lead Italy once more into the family of civilized nations.

To those true patriots who undertake the liberation of Italy, we say, You do not act alone. The armies of America and of the United Nations are close at hand, and behind them the full strength of the most powerful nations in the world.

The voice of free Italy has been stilled for two decades. Convincing proof that Italy has repudiated the monstrous philosophies which

have spread death and terror and pestilence throughout the world must be given by Italians who drive out the traitors and foreigners who have led her to the rim of destruction.

When the voice of the true Italy is heard again, we shall hear Garibaldi, Cavour, Mazzini, Matteotti, De Bosis, and Rosselli speak from beyond the grave, saying: "Here again is our nation; these are our people."

PROCLAIMED LIST: REVISION IV

[Released to the press November 15]

The Secretary of State, acting in conjunction with the Secretary of the Treasury, the Attorney General, the Secretary of Commerce, the Board of Economic Warfare, and the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, pursuant to the proclamation by the President of July 17, 1941 providing for The Proclaimed List of Certain Blocked Nationals has issued Revision IV of the Proclaimed List, dated November 12, 1942. Revision IV supersedes and consolidates Revision III, dated August 10, 1942, and the four supplements thereto.

No new additions to or deletions from the Proclaimed List are made in this revision. Certain minor changes in spelling of names listed, alternative listings for names previously included, etc., are made.

Revision IV follows the listing arrangement used in Revision III. The list is divided into two parts: Part I relates to listings in the American republics and part II to listings in countries other than the American republics. Revision IV contains a total of 11,213 listings, of which 7,949 are in part I and 3,264 in part II.

Following this revision, supplements will be cumulative. Each supplement will contain all additions, deletions, and amendments which have been made since the previous revision. Thus, to determine the status of a given name, it will be necessary to consult only two issues of the List, namely, the previous revision and the current supplement.

American Republics

VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES OF THE PRESIDENT OF CUBA

[Released to the press November 11]

His Excellency General Fulgencio Batista, President of Cuba, will visit the United States as a guest of this Government on the invitation of President Roosevelt, arriving in Washington on December 8. The President of Cuba will spend one night at the White House, after which he will leave for the Blair House to remain for several days. He will subsequently visit other cities in the United States.

VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES OF THE PRESIDENT OF ECUADOR

[Released to the press November 9]

His Excellency Carlos A. Arroyo del Rio, President of the Republic of Ecuador, will visit the United States as a guest of this Government on the invitation of President Roosevelt, arriving in Washington on November 23. The President of Ecuador will spend one night at the White House, after which he will leave for the Blair House to remain for several days. He will subsequently visit other cities in the United States.

Cultural Relations

VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES OF MEXICAN SCIENTIST

[Released to the press November 12]

Dr. Miguel E. Bustamante, Director of the Institute of Public Health and Tropical Diseases, of Mexico City, arrived in Washington on November 11, at the invitation of the Department of State, for a two months' visit to

leading scientific and research centers in this country.

Dr. Bustamante, well known as a scientist both in Mexico and in the United States, plans to visit the National Institute of Health at Washington to study methods of typhus immunization; Vanderbilt University, at Nashville, Tenn., to observe that institution's work and teaching in the fields of public health and nursing; the Department of Biology of the University of Chicago; health organizations in rural Minnesota; and the Rocky Mountain Spotted Fever Laboratory at Hamilton, Mont. He will also confer with Dr. E. Carroll Faust of the Department of Tropical Diseases of Tulane University in New Orleans.

The Foreign Service

CONFIRMATIONS

On November 13, 1942 the Senate confirmed the nomination of Walter Thurston, of Arizona, to be Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to El Salvador.

Treaty Information

COMMERCE

Trade Agreement With Uruguay

[Released to the press November 10]

On November 10, 1942 the President proclaimed the trade agreement between the United States and Uruguay, signed at Montevideo on July 21, 1942. Article XVII of the agreement provides that it shall enter into force 30 days following the exchange of the President's proclamation and the instrument of ratification of the Government of Uruguay, which shall take place at Washington. The Government of Uruguay has ratified the trade agreement, and it is

expected that the exchange will take place within a few days. Following this exchange, the President will issue a supplementary proclamation setting forth the date of entry into force.

The text of this agreement and the texts of the related notes will be printed shortly in the Executive Agreement Series. An analysis of the general provisions and reciprocal benefits of the agreement appeared in the *BULLETIN*, Supplement of July 25, 1942, vol. VII, no. 161a.

CULTURAL RELATIONS

Agreement Between Spain and Argentina

The American Ambassador at Madrid reported by a despatch dated September 14, 1942 that a general cultural agreement between Spain and Argentina was signed at Madrid on September 7, 1942. By the terms of the agreement each High Contracting Party agrees to promote cultural interchange among their peoples in the fields of science and art; to organize the exchange of educational, geographical, or historical motion pictures which may contribute to a better mutual understanding by both countries; to exchange books, magazines, and newspapers which may serve toward a greater understanding of the fundamental problems of each country; to establish on a permanent basis direct radio broadcasts designed to make known the respective scientific literary and artistic activities of each country to the other country; to arrange for the exchange of professors, lecturers, writers, artists, and students and to create scholarships, grant subsidies, and lend whatever facilities each different cultural activity may require; to establish tourist travel so far as possible. The agreement also provides that joint studies be made by bureaus charged with Hispanic-Argentine cultural relations in the respective Ministries for Foreign Affairs for the preparation of supplementary agreements which may be required for the efficient execution of the general agreement.

The agreement entered into force on the date of signature.

INDUSTRIAL PROPERTY

Convention for the Protection of Industrial Property (Revised 1934)

Tunisia

By a note dated September 4, 1942 the Swiss Minister at Washington informed the Secretary of State that the French Embassy at Bern, by notes dated May 6 and August 18, 1942, notified the Swiss Federal Council of the adherence of Tunisia to the Convention for the Protection of Industrial Property, revised at London June 2, 1934. The adherence became effective on October 4, 1942.

Arrangement Concerning the Suppression of False Indications of Origin on Merchandise (Revised 1934)

Tunisia

The above-mentioned note of September 4, 1942 from the Swiss Minister states also that the French Embassy at Bern notified the Swiss Federal Council of the adherence of Tunisia to the Arrangement Concerning the Suppression of False Indications of Origins on Merchandise as revised at London on June 2, 1934. The adherence became effective on October 4, 1942.

Arrangement Concerning the International Registration of Trade Marks and Commercial Names (Revised 1934)

Tunisia

By a note dated September 4, 1942 the Swiss Minister at Washington informed the Secretary of State that the French Embassy at Bern informed the Swiss Federal Council of the adherence of Tunisia to the Arrangement Concerning the International Registration of Trade

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Marks and Commercial Names as revised at London on June 2, 1934. The adherence became effective on October 4, 1942.

Deposit of Industrial Designs and Models as revised at London June 2, 1934. The adherence became effective on October 4, 1942.

Arrangement Concerning the International Deposit of Industrial Designs and Models (Revised 1934)

Tunisia

The above-mentioned note of September 4, 1942 from the Swiss Minister adds that the French Embassy at Bern notified to the Swiss Federal Council the adherence of Tunisia to the Arrangement Concerning the International

Publications

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

The Proclaimed List of Certain Blocked Nationals:
Revision IV, November 12, 1942, Promulgated Pursuant to Proclamation 2497 of the President of July 17, 1941. Publication 1828. 269 pp. Free.

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1942

PUBLISHED WEEKLY WITH THE APPROVAL OF THE DIRECTOR OF THE BUREAU OF THE BUDGET

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